[p.133]

IV

159 (41) Information concerning member families of Nitmap local group and co-
592 operative activities among them.

224 Shiokoro and his family.—Shiokoro was an old man; he no longer went hunting bears himself, because his sons had all grown enough to do that for him and themselves. Nor did old Shiokoro play an active part in deer-hunting as did his younger brothers and his sons. All his sons were good bear-hunters, Itomochara, the second, being the best. As some of them were every year [466] [648] drafted in service at some Japanese fishing grounds on the sea-coast from about May to early October and soon after their return went for bear hunting, deer-hunting on the fields was operated by the remaining male hands with their home as base, so as to carry on dog-salmon fishing side by side. Their deer-fence was accordingly built within half a mile of their settlement, on a level hill on the way to Shintoku on a smaller scale. But after their return from bear hunt they went for deer-hunting in the hills and got sufficient amount of deer. The children being all grown up, Shiokoro and his family built their own cherry-salmon weirs in the main stream and the glens.

Shurunke and his family.—Shurunke, a traditional headman of a *kotan* and formerly a great bear-hunter, was now too old to go hunting the beast. But his eldest son Sankur was one of the best bear-hunters of Nitmap and his second, Usareta, was another fine hunter. The third and the fourth, though always following their brothers on bear-hunting expeditions, had never killed a bear themselves yet. Sankur, like Shiokoro's sons, had to be away during summer for service at the coast; immediately on his return home he entered mountains to chase bears. Deer hunts in autumn fell largely on Shurunke and his son Usareta, who like Shiokaro's family set up their deer-fence less than a mile and a half from their settlement, on a level height on the way to Pekerepet, and there chased deer of the plain. Their daily routine was [512] to go round the fence during the morning and bring back spoils killed with hand-bows, spending the rest of the day in catching dog-salmon. In spring Sankur and Usareta always went together for bear-hunts; in autumn Sankur alone went because there were deer-hunting and dog-salmon fishing going on concurrently which needed hands. The building and use of the cherry-salmon weir in the main stream was a joint enterprise with the families of Shukemon, Kapkotuk and Osareainu; for the cherry salmon weir and the fishing hut on the glen they cooperated with the two families of Shukemon and Osareainu.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Zarashi and his family.—Zarashi and his first son Konishikupa were both superior bear-hunters; his second son Zanrura and the third Repani also hunted bears, though the last-named was not very skilful in the art. They formed a group of themselves for hunting both bears and deer. For deer-hunting they went to stay at a hut at relatively distant Penkechin on the Shikaripet and chased deer of the plain by means of a fence erected near-by, while some of the male hands went to their mountain hut for bear-hunts. There are indications, though not very definite, that during the deer season in the hills some of Zarashi's sons went with those of Shurunke to the wintering centre of the animal on the Kinaushi glen. For the cherry-salmon weir-fishing in the main stream they were joined by Retunun who lived alone; for that in the glens they worked all by themselves.

Shukemon and her family.—Shukemon's husband had died when her children were still very young. Her eldest son Aniainu, who had always followed Sankur, eldest son of Shurunke, in his bear-hunts, had now become his fellow hunter. Her second son Ukae had in a like manner become associated with Itomochara, second son of Shiokoro. In the matter of deer-fence hunting her family associated themselves with those of Kapkotuk and Osareainu, her sons and daughters helping the others in building and maintaining the fence. Actually her family seldom used the construction themselves; instead Kapkotuk and others brought to them a portion of their take. On such occasions Shukemon's family offered some dog-salmon, saying that 'they must give some fish in return for the flesh received.' In the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the families of Shurunke, Kapkotuk and Osareainu; for that in the glens of the Sahorun they used to work, while the children were young, with Shurunke's and Osareainu's families staying with them at a fishing hut. Since the children had grown up, they formed a group by themselves with their own hut and weir. They built no peep-fishing hut.

Kapkotuk and his family.—Kapkotuk, former associate of Osareainu in bear-hunting, was too weak now to go hunting the beast. His only son Ukainotte had become by his own request an associate of Sankur, the superior bear-hunter. Kapkotuk himself, though he no longer hunted bears, did some deer-hunting. In cooperation with Osareainu and his family, he and his children occupied themselves busily with work at a deer-fence two miles and a half long which it took them nearly a whole day to go checking round. Kaptotuk speared fish as well as anyone in Nitmap and all his family were good at fishing which they liked. For the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the families of Shurunke, Shukemon and Osareainu;

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

159 592 for that in the cherry salmon fishing on the Sahorun they and the Retununs formed a cooperative group.

224 476 226 Osareainu and his family.—Osareainu was known as a good bear-hunter but his young sons had had little more than two or three years of bear-hunting experience. For hunting deer they cooperated with Kapkotuk's family, staying all autumn at a hut in Penkechin by the Shikaripet working at the fence. Even when Osareainu was away, his sons did the work. For the weir-fishing of cherry salmon in the main stream they worked with the aforesaid two families and that of Shurunke; for cherry salmon fishing in the glens of the Sahorun they formed a cooperative group with the last-named and the Shukemons alone. Katunum, wife of Osareainu, was among the best women spearers of Nitmap, ranking with Retunun, Kasamushi, daughter of Shiokoro, and Inokare, daughter of Shurunke; in fact, her skill equalled many men's. Osareainu himself was not very enthusiastic; he never built a peep-fishing hut for catching dog-salmon.

159 592 (42) Information concerning cooperative activities among member families of Pipaushi local group.

224 476 Chiokatupa and his family.—Chiokatupa, a traditional headman and a great hunter in his day, was too old now to go hunting. His son Uturusote, who did some hill-hunting of deer in early winter, seldom went on an autumn bear-hunting expedition because he had to go to the coast for service at some Japanese fishing ground. But when he did, he went in company with Sayuturuk, son of Haukiainu. Chiokatupa's family never grew millet and other cereals; for trout-fishing in the glen, unlike other families, they all migrated to a fishing-hut on the Sahorun river.

Haukiainu and his family.—Haukiainu was a bear-hunter and the best hand at spearing in all Pipaushi. Sayuturuk, son by his former wife, also hunted bears.

Chipreka and his family.—Chipreka did no bear hunting himself; his only son had grown enough to hunt both bears and deer. Always cooperating with this family in hunting and fishing was his younger brother Kutsamainu; they formed a group independent of other families in Pipaushi. Kutsamainu lived alone at the next settlement Kumaushi where his younger sister Usasnikun had a home. Usashikun's two sons, Ukanotte and Saimatte, and her daughter Sakemonka formed by themselves a bag-netting group. They often went cherry salmon fishing to glens of the Sahorun not far from Kumaushi, where parties from Pipaushi and Nitmap fished cherry salmon staying at fishing huts.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Isontomam and his family.—Isontomam, another bear-hunter, formed no hunting group with other families; he went alone on any bear-hunting expedition. As far as my informant Ushino observed when at Nitmap, he was the only man in all Pipaushi that captured and reared bear cubs. During summer when he was drafted at some Japanese fishing ground on the sea-coast, his wife Ueashi and his children carried on cherry salmon fishing in the Sahorun staying at a hut in company with Chiokatupa's family and building weirs with them.

(43) Coastal people and coastal settlements.—Of the Ainu groups on the Pacific coasts of Hokkaido surveyed by the present writer, the *pishun kotan* (coastal settlements) were the only ones that voluntarily and regularly practised sea fishing (Note 53). The word *pishun* means 'being at the seashore' but is here of nominal application. Like the *kimun utaru* of *kimun kotan* (interior settlements), these people dwelled on river courses and their fishing activities extending to the sea were oriented primarily to the river (WATANABE, 1954).

The *pishun utaru* lived in groups in one or more settlements situated on the lowermost reaches of rivers close to the estuary (Note 10). On the eve of the farming land allotments there was a *pishun kotan* in the Azuma valley, which formed itself a local group and shine itokpa group. Shortly after in the Mukawa valley there were two *pishun kotan* local groups (Imoppe and Chin) and in the Saru valley at about the same period there were three (Nina, Sarupa and Piraga) at least which constituted a local group respectively. The three *pishun kotan* in Saru and the two in Mukawa formed probably a shine itokpa group respectively. Evidence shows that between the coastal and the interior people in the same or adjacent valleys intermarriages took place and through the affinal relations social intercourse was maintained on private and family levels by reciprocating calls and sending gifts. No evidence is available to prove, however, that even in the same valley the local group cores of the coastal and interior peoples ever represented the member sections of one *ekashi ikiru*, patrilineal kin group of males. Nor is it clear if local groups of the same river *pish un utar* ever formed more than one *shine itokpa* group.

(44) 1. Japanese bush-warbler, Horeites cantans, appears in the plains in early spring, migrating to hills in the breeding season from April to August; in Hokkaido its warbling begins in about the last part of March (KIYOSU, 1952, Vol. II, pp. 250-2).

2. Himalayan cuckoo, Cuculus saturatus, crosses over to Japan in the period from the middle part of April to the early part of May, migrating to